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THE FOUNDING

OF

FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS.

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BY

WILLIAM FOSTER.

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PREFACE.

THE City of Madras and its historic fortress have not lacked capable and painstaking historians. As far back as 1857, Captain A. W. Rawlins compiled for official use a brief *Memorandum on the Early History of Fort St. George.* Two years later, Mr. William Hudleston, of the Madras Civil Service, read before the Madras Literary Society a paper in which he gave a number of extracts from the old Consultation Books. These aroused considerable curiosity about the past of the city; and shortly afterwards Mr. Talboys Wheeler, who had been appointed by the Government to draw up a report on their records, published, under the title of *Madras in the Olden Time*, a narrative copiously illustrated by quotations from contemporary records, in which he traced the history of the settlement from its commencement to its restoration by the French in 1748. In 1871–73 appeared three series of *Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort St. George*, ranging from 1670 to 1681, in which Mr. Hudleston's previous selections were reproduced and amplified; and these have since been supplemented by Mr. A. T. Pringle's five volumes of reprints of the Consultation Books for the years 1681–85. Quite recently, the story of Fort St. George has been told in a brightly-written and admirably illustrated work by Mrs. Frank Penny; and within the last few months Mr. David Leighton has issued an interesting pamphlet on the same subject under the title of *The Vicissitudes of Fort St. George.*

All these works, however, were written at Madras, and the researches of their authors were necessarily limited to the records available there. These commence

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only in 1670; and consequently, for the first thirty years of the history of the settlement, the writers were dependent on such particulars as could be gleaned from works compiled in England, some of which were sadly lacking in accuracy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest chapters of Madras history have been little better than blanks, relieved by a few meagre facts and a number of very doubtful statements.

The aim of the following pages is to supply, in the shape of a series of hitherto unpublished extracts from the India Office records, materials for the writing of the first of these missing chapters, namely, that on the establishment of the settlement and its history under Hindu rule. The collections from which they are drawn—the most important of which is that known as the *Original Correspondence* (O.C.) Series—are by no means as complete as could be wished. Many important letters have perished entirely; of others, only portions survive, often in very unlikely quarters; while several events of the first importance are merely referred to obliquely in the contemporary correspondence. Such as they are, however, the extracts are believed to reflect fairly all the information of importance which it is now possible to glean from the records of the East India Company.

It was at first intended to confine these extracts to the actual founding of the Fort; but the necessity of dealing with the well-known story of Sri Ranga's grant carried the narrative forward to 1645, and it then seemed advisable to go on to the conquest of the district by the Golconda troops two years later.

Hearty acknowledgments are due to Mr. R. B. Swinton, late of the Madras Civil Service, who not only communicated the results of some previous researches of his own, but also rendered considerable assistance by his explanation of native names and terms occurring in the extracts.

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At the time when our extracts commence, the head-quarters of the English on the Coromandel Coast were at Masulipatam, in the Kistna delta, the principal port of the Muhammadan kingdom of Golconda. Here they had been established about a quarter of a century, engaged chiefly in the purchase of cotton goods for the trade centreing at Bantam, but carrying on also a somewhat languid intercourse with Surat, Gombroon, and other settlements to the westwards, besides a certain amount of port-to-port trade. So far as the East India Company was concerned, the volume of the commerce appears to have been comparatively small. The most usual, as well as the most economical, method of purchasing cotton cloths was by a system of advances to the weavers extending over many months, and consequently a steady supply of money for "investment" was a prime necessity; yet the remittances which came to hand were fitful, reflecting only too faithfully the alternations of hope and discouragement which mark the Company's home history at this period. The factors—poorly paid and ineffectively supported—devoted themselves mainly to the furtherance of their own private trading. Further, the better organisation and greater resources of the Dutch enabled them to buy more cheaply and sell to better advantage, and their competition in every market on the Coast was severely felt.

In one important respect the Dutch had a special advantage over their English rivals. Whilst not neglecting Masulipatam and other stations in Golconda territory, they relied for the purchase of their cotton goods on their settlement at Pulicat, some two hundred miles to the southward. Here they were in a district

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renowned for its cotton goods, and under the milder administration of a Hindu sovereign, the King of Vijayanagar, or, as some prefer to call him, the Raja of Chandragiri. This great empire, which at one time extended over the whole of Southern India, had received a mortal wound at the battle of Talikota, in 1565, when Ram Raja was defeated and slain by the confederate Muhammadan princes of the Deccan. But it still lingered on, though the district rulers—Naiks, as they were called—paid but a nominal obedience to their sovereign, and were practically independent. In such a country there was less jealousy of European interference, as well as less power to expel the foreigner when once he had taken root. Consequently, the Dutch had no difficulty in obtaining permission to establish themselves at Pulicat, where they quickly built a fort strong enough to defy a native force. They were thus able to protect from exactions the weavers who settled around them, to deal on equal terms with the Naiks of the neighbouring districts, and to make themselves respected and feared along the coast to the southwards, the immemorial source of supply of the chintzes most esteemed in the Far East.

Shortly after the settlement of the Dutch in Vijayanagar territory, a similar opportunity had come to the English. This was in the *Seventh Voyage*, during which, in August, 1611, the *Globe* attempted to open up trade at Pulicat. Owing to the opposition of the Dutch, these efforts were unsuccessful, but three years later, at the instigation of the native traders, a formal invitation was sent to the English factors at Masulipatam, to come and settle in the country. The *Seventh Voyage*, however, was a venture of a very special character, being the result of a partnership between the East India Company and two Dutchmen named Floris and Antheunis, to whom the actual management was committed. The latter were, of course, only interested in the success of this particular voyage, and had no intention of spending money to promote the general interests of the Company; and Floris, who was in charge at Masulipatam at this time (June, 1614), evaded the offer by

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returning a complaint about the way in which he had been treated three years before, and refusing to entertain further overtures without a special grant of privileges. At the end of July the messengers again appeared, bringing letters of apology and a formal grant from the Vijayanagar monarch. In October, however, news arrived that the King was dead and his country in a disturbed state; and in the following December Floris decided to do nothing further in the matter, though he gave the ambassadors letters of commendation to any English commander who might happen to touch at their ports (Floris's MS. Journal in I. O. Records, printed (in part) in *Purchas*, vol. i.; *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. ii., p. 83).*

The English soon found cause to regret their neglect of the offer which had been made to them. At Masulipatam they were to a great extent at the mercy of the native officials, who did not scruple to use to the full their power of fleecing the foreigner. The only remedy available was a complaint to the Golconda court, and not only was this very expensive, but for the most part it resulted merely in a change of oppressors. Threats of withdrawal were sometimes effective, but naturally they were not so much regarded in a port with a flourishing non-European trade, as they would have been in a place of less importance. At last, in 1626, the English imitated their Dutch rivals by obtaining the grant of a patch of ground at Armagon (now known as Durgarayapatnam), about thirty-five miles to the north of Pulicat; and to this settlement, two years later, on the occurrence of fresh disputes at Masulipatam, they transferred their headquarters, abandoning Golconda territory altogether. But the fort they had erected was a poor one, and afforded no real security,† the anchorage was an exposed and shallow road, and the local chief, under the influence of the Dutch, placed many difficulties in the way of trade.

* In accordance with the Treaty of Defence (1619), the English were permitted to establish an agency in the Dutch fort at Pulicat, but quarrels soon arose, and the factors were withdrawn.

† It was rebuilt at some expense in 1634, but little real improvement seems to have been effected.

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When, therefore, the Masulipatam authorities in 1632 made promise of better treatment, the factors were glad enough to return to their former station, leaving a few of their number at Armagon to carry on such trade as there was, in subordination to the more northerly settlement.

In this way several years had passed. The position of the English at Masulipatam was scarcely better than before; disputes with the officials were frequent and bitter, and little or no redress could be obtained at Golconda, where the tendency naturally was to accept the native version.* The factors must often have cast longing eyes southwards, where alone, it would seem, freedom was to be found. Yet the condition of things at Armagon did not encourage them to repeat their former experiment. The Naik was treacherous and unfriendly. With every rainy season the so-called fort became more dilapidated. Money was scarce, even for purposes of trade, and none could be spent on "fortification" without special permission, which neither the agent at Masulipatam nor his superior at Bantam was willing to give if it could be avoided. Such expenditure was always unwelcome to the Company at home, to whom immediate profit was more attractive than the prospect, however reasonable, of a more distant benefit. Indeed, the Directors sent out orders in 1638 or 1639 that Armagon was to be dismantled and abandoned, and the factors were risking their masters' displeasure by deferring this step for a time, in order to determine first whether a better station could be found.

The English had no wish to have any further dealings with the Naik in whose territory Armagon was situated, even in the improbable event of his consenting to a transfer. At first, it would seem, they had turned their attention to the neighbourhood of the present French settlement of Pondicherri; for in February, 1637,

* It is only fair to say that the faults were not all on one side. The English merchants were apt to be overbearing, and not too scrupulous in their dealings with the natives. In 1639 the King of Golconda complained to Cogan that the Masulipatam factors had maltreated his subjects, and cheated his customs by passing off strangers' goods as their own (O.C. 1701).

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the Dutch factors at Pulicat wrote to Batavia that an English merchant, named Francis Day, had recently passed that place in a vessel from Masulipatam, bound for "Pollecheere," to treat with the authorities for a settlement there; it is rumoured, they say, that the English wish to build a fort either at that town or at "Conimeer" (Kunimedu, 13 miles N. of Pondicherri).* This attempt, concerning which the English records are entirely silent,† evidently came to nothing; but it had now become common knowledge that the English were desirous of moving to the southwards, and before long overtures were made to Day, who was at this time chief at Armagon, to establish a settlement in the dominions of a Naik named Damarla Venkatadra or Venkatappa.‡

Of this individual the English records tell us little, except that he possessed the coastline between Pulicat and St. Thomé and that he was "Lord General of Carnatica" and "Grand Visier" to the King (p. 41). The Dutch records, however, give a few further particulars. They describe him as being the commander of from twelve to fifteen thousand soldiers; his chief abode, they say, was at "Wandawas,"§ but he spent most of his time at court, leaving his brother "Ayjapaneyck" (Ayappa Naik), who resided at Punamallu, to look after his district (which included Madraspatam) as his vicegerent.‖

We are probably not wrong in concluding that the overtures made to Day came actually from Ayappa, though naturally his brother's name would be used in the transaction. The nature of these proposals is shown by the extracts given later. Their date may be inferred to have been the spring or early summer of 1639. Evidently they were sufficiently attractive to

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* *Dagh Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia . . . . Anno* 1637, pp. 94, 242.

† They are very sparse at this period.

‡ The former is given on pp. 6 and 9; but the other (which is always used in the Dutch records) seems the more correct. Chambers (p. 39) gives "Vencatapate," which tends to corroborate the latter form.

§ Wandiwash, about 60 miles S.E. of Madras, famous in later years as the scene of Coote's great victory over Lally.

‖ *Dagh Register*, 1640–41, p. 185. In a later volume (1643–44, p. 244) the yearly value of the Naik's district is put at about 600,000 *pardaos*.

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induce Day to ask permission from Thomas Ivy,* the Agent at Masulipatam, to make a voyage to the district, in order to examine the possibilities of trade, and, if satisfied, to open negotiations with the Naik regarding a formal grant of privileges.

The results of his investigations are given in the following letter, written by him from Armagon on his return. The original is no longer extant, but we quote from a contemporary copy made apparently at Masulipatam for transmission to Bantam (O.C. 1690). After referring to want of money and other troubles at "this unproffittable place," he proceeds :—

Att your being here I accquainted you with many kind invitation[s] and larg priviledges by the Nague of (*sic*) Vincatadra, whose teritories lyes betweene Pullacatt and Santomee [St. Thomé], the only place for paintings soe much desired at southwards [*i.e.*, at Bantam], and likewise great store of longcloath and morrees which is there procurable (Muster of the later now accompanyes these). I had your Consent to make a Voyage to the Nague, and therefore sett sayle for those parts the 23th Jully, and arived the 27th, where I was entertayned with much Honnour by the Nague himselfe † etc. Me[r]chants, Painters and Weavers. Affter some parlay with the Nague, I had free leve to viz[i]t his townes and soe discourse with the Merchants, Painters and Weavers, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of Cloath. I was not furnisht to buy, but only to inquire of their prizes, which with sorrow I heard. Haveing Compared boath sorts and prizes with ours at Armagon, beleve mee, I lament our masters great Losses and Cannot blame our freinds at Southwards for their offten Complaints. The Duch may well undersell us when wee over [pay ?] by them 20, 30, and in some sorts 40 per cent. It is a misserie to know a grevance, if possabillityes for remedies bee wanting. You must pardon mee if I say it hath been usuall in such kinds to make to many Doubts when faire opertunityes for our Masters Beniffitt offerd it selfe. I neede not tell you that Armagon is only Chargable ; the place affords nothing of itselfe, not soe much as a peece of whit Cloath but Comes from other places ; as for Merchants, how misserable poore they are, by the Nagues Continuall forceings, there Complying with us and the Cloath sent to the southwards speakes loude in Confirmation of the misserey of the place with their backward perffor[m]ances. The Common Arbitrator, time, hath now made a benificiall discovery, iff you shall please to imbrace such Large and secure offers, which the Incloased Coppie of the firman granted by the Nague will Demonstrat. It may give incouragement sufficent ; and Francis Day, who Accompanyes these, wilbe readie to give you a verball relation of the Hoped benifit that will Attend if a residence were there once settled. Oppertunity of time is to bee followed when such occasions for our Masters benifite offers itselfe. Changes of time are tickle, and if you suffer this oppertunitye to pass over,

* He had arrived from Bantam on the 22nd July, 1639, to take charge of the Coast factories (O.C. 1718).

† Probably Ayappa, not his brother.

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you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fledd and gone. Our Envighous Neighbours the Dutch I dout not but wilbeestirr themselves to their power in hindering of us what lyes in them ; yett lett not that discourage you, for all their Machivillian pollicyes will not prevaile. If it should, the Company Can bee noe loaser, for they runn noe hazard. If you will not follow this Course, you quite forgoe the way which promiseth Asurance, leaveing firme securitye mearely to Chance and hazard. And that you may more Evidently perceive noe private respects of my owne hath drawne mee to advise you as abovesaid, but only a reall well wishing to my Masters, will joyne with a dutious earnest desire to procecut what may bee Conceived best for their advantage, doe promise, iff the goods there provided shall not apeare at the southwards 15 per cent. Cheaper then those formerly bought at Armagon, not to lay Clayme to any one peney of what shall bee due to mee for all my service from my Honnorable Imployers ; which, did I not tender their proffitt farr before my owne, I would never soe willingly hazard. But why doe I say hazard, being Confident I run none, haveing soe good asurance off performance ? I forbeare to ad any more, being I am to deliver these with my owne hands. . . .

Your observant freind,
Francis Day.

Armagon, the 27th Jully,* 1639.

The "firman † granted by the Nague" was to the following effect ‡ :—

Whereas Mr. Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises offten made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Medraspatam and had personall Conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that Nation, Concerning their trading in our territories and freindly Comerce with our subjects : wee, out of our spetiall Love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to Idgitate the affaires of that Company, by vertue of this firman, Power to direct and order the building of a fort and Castle in or about Medraspatam, as they shall thinke most Convenient, the Charges whereof, untill fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof. And, to make more full Expression of our effection to the English Nation, wee Doe Confirme unto the said Mr. Francis Day, or whatsoever other Substitutes § or Agents for that Company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the Goverment of Madraspatam for the terme and space

* This is a slip for "August," as is shown by several references in the course of the letter.

† This is, of course, a misnomer, but the factors used the term looscly to mean any grant from a native ruler.

‡ Three contemporary versions of this grant are preserved in the I.O. Records. We here follow O.C. 1690 (which is the one attached to the foregoing letter), with a few unimportant corrections from O.C. 1695 and 1751. It seems obvious from the wording that the document was drafted by Day himself (cp. also p. 14).

§ There seems to have been some doubt as to this word. The reading in the text is that of O.C. 1695. In O.C. 1690 we have "subjects," and in O.C. 1751 "inhabitants."

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of two yeares Next Insueing affter they shall be seated there and possessst of the said fortifications; and for the future by an Equall Division to receive halfe the Custom and revenewes of that port.

Moreover, Whatsoever goods or Merchandize the English Company shall either Import or Export, forasmuch as Concernes the dutyes and Customes of Medraspatam, they shall, not only for the Prementioned two yeares in which they Injoy the Goverment, but for ever after, be Custom free. Yett if they shall Transport or bring any commodities up, into, or through my Countray, then shall they pay halfe the dutyes that other Merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said Commodities either in my Dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever.

Also that the said English Company shall perpetually Injoy the priviledges of mintag, without paying any Dewes or dutyes whatsoever, more then the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall Quoyne the moneyes.

Iff the English shall Accquaint us before they deliver out any moneys to the Merchants, Painters, Weavers, etc., which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or teritories, and take our word for their sufficeency and honest dealeing, then doe wee promise, in case those people faile in their performances, to make good to the English all such sumes of money as shall remaine on their Accounts, or Else deliver them their persons, if they shalbe found in any part of my teritories.

That whatsoever provisions the English shall buy in my Countrey, either for their fort or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any Custom or Dutyes for the same.

And if any shipp or vessell belonging to the English (or to any other Countray whatsoever which tradeth or shall come to trade at that port) shall by misadventure suffer shippwrack and bee driven upon any part of my teritories, they shall have restitution upon Demand of whatsoever can bee found remaining of the said wrack.

Dated the 22th July, 1639.*

As mentioned in his letter, Day had decided to be himself the bearer of these documents to Masulipatam, in order to give any further information that might be desired and to urge upon his colleagues the importance of an early decision. On his arrival he found that the Agent, Thomas Ivy, had been superseded by Andrew Cogan,† who had been sent from Surat,

* This date appears on O.C. 1751 alone (which is the copy appended by Cogan to his defence mentioned later). With the substitution of "August" for "July" (*cp.* the similar mistake in Day's letter) it is probably correct.

† Andrew Cogan (or Coggins, as he is often styled in the records) entered the Company's service in the year 1615, and served chiefly at Bantam and its subordinate stations, such as Japara and Macassar. He came home in 1629 or 1630, and got into serious trouble with the Company on the score of his private trading. A bill in Chancery was filed against him and some other factors in 1631, but the matter was compromised. Apparently he did not go out again until the spring of 1638, when he was sent to Surat as a member of the council. He reached his station on the 23rd Sept. in that year; and a few months later was despatched to Goa, to transact some business with the Viceroy, and then to proceed overland to the Coast as Agent.

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under instructions from England, to take over the direction of the Coast factories. On his way Cogan had passed through Golconda and had had an interview with the King, from whom he obtained a fresh *farman* for the Masulipatam factory. This, however, did not deter him from giving a favourable reception to Day's proposals, and it was resolved at a general consultation of the factors to send Day back to keep the Naik in play, pending the receipt of sanction from a higher authority. The following is the record of the proceedings (O.C. 1705) :—

Consultation held in Messulapatam the 5th September, 1639, by whose names are underwritten.

Mr. Francis Day haveing had leave to make a vioage from Armagon to Madra[s]patam, a port towne between Pullacatt and Santomay belonging to Damela Vincatedree Nague, as well to view the said place and take notice what Clooth and painting are there made and procured, as personally to Conferre and treat with the saied Nague concerning our trade and Traffique in his cunttrey and fortifying at his port ; which hee haveing effected, and received a firmane with large and ample previledges, as is there specifyed, and accquaintted us both by word and writting with his actions there and his opinion thereupon, which wee seriously discust of and considered, doe in regard that Nague is to be answered in forttye dayes, resolve speedylie to send backe the saied Francis Daye for Madraspatam with horsses, suger and Cloves, to keepe a faire Correspondence with that place and indeavour to prolong the tyme abovesaid, it being directly against the order off the President and Councell of Bantam to begin any Factory as yett ; butt if the Nague shall earnestly persist therein, the saied Francis Daye shall uppon occasion *pishcash* him with one of the horses ; which, with good words and his being there to Negotiate, will, wee hoope, delay his importancy till further order arive from Bantam or elsewhere ; and untill then wee will noe building bee medled withall. . . .

Thomas Ivie. Andrew Cogan.
Francis Daye.
Thomas Morris.
Thomas Wintter.

There seems to have been some difficulty in finding the necessary funds, for on the 13th September, Day, who had quarrelled with Thomas Ivy, renewed a request he had formerly made for permission to return to England (O.C. 1708). He had previously been told, he said, that he could not be spared "from the Imployment of Madraspatam," but now he had waited seven days without discovering any sign of the Council's intention of carrying out the plan decided upon. He was, however, willing to remain and undertake the proposed expedition,

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on condition that he was supplied with (1) two thousand pagodas to pay off some pressing debts at Armagon; (2) an able assistant, "that when wee arrive thither wee may as well Act as discourse, and fix a firme beleif in the minds of those Country people of our intentions to settle a trade there assoone as our shipps come with meanes." The Council had formerly decided to borrow the necessary sum; but this idea had had to be given up, as it was found to be against the Company's orders to take up money at interest. To meet this difficulty, Day offered to guarantee the interest on the proposed loan till Christmas, at the same time expressing his conviction that the Company would not allow him to be a loser by the transaction.

This application appears to have had the desired effect, for the next we hear is that Day has set out for Armagon, on his way to Madraspatam. This is stated in the following extract from a letter sent by the Masulipatam factors to the Company, dated the 25th October, 1639 (O.C. 1718):—

Next thinge which comes to memory, is to shew your Worships that when Mr. Ivye etc. merchants were at Armagon, Francis Day was Inordered to goe towards St. Thomay, to see what payntings those parts doth afford, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon; which accordingly he did. And, the [ ] August last, the said Francis Day, haveinge Dispatcht what hee was sent about, came for this place, and shewes us what hee had Done. And, first, hee makes it appeare to us that at a place Called Madraspatam, neere St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or as good as anywhere on this Coast, likwise Exellant long Cloath, Morrees, and percalla (of which wee have seene Musters), and better Cheape by 20 per cent. then anywhere Else. The Nague of that place is very Desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that Effect; for, first, hee proffers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a shipp of any Burthen may Ride within Muskett shott, Close by a river which is Capeable of a Vessell of 50 Tonns;* and, upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what Charges hee shall have disbursed. Secondly, hee gives us the whole benifite of a towne neere by for two years, which towne may bee at present worth about 2,000 pagodas per annum; but after two years, the proceede of that towne to be Equally devided betwene him and us. Thirdly, wee to be custome free Continually at the Port of Madraspatam, and, yf wee carry any our Goods through his Countray, to pay half the Custome usually [paid ?] by other Merchants. Fourthly, wee to Enjoye the priviledge of mintage, without payinge any dutyes. Fivethly that for all such

* These are obvious exaggerations.

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monyes as wee shall Delliver out to workmen, hee, the said Nague, wilbe liable to make it good, allwayes provided hee be made acc-quainted with the delivery. Sixtly, what provisions soever wee shall buy, Either for fort or shippinge, to pay noe dutyes at all. And lastly, if any shipp or vessell shall happen (belongeing to us, or our freinds) to be cast away upon any his Territoryes, all whatever is sav'd upon Demand shall be restor'd.

They are fayre priviledges ; and [it ?] may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. 'Tis Answered by himselfe : first, he desires his Countray may flurrish and grow rich ; which he Conceives it will, by Draweinge Merchants to him. Secondly, hee desires, for his money, good Horses from Persia. Thirdly, that yearly upon our shipps hee may send a servant into the Bay Bengalla, to buy him Hawks, Apes, Parratts, and suchlike bables ; and that, when hee shall have occasion to send a vessell of his owne there, or to Persia, a man of ours may proceed upon her. And, lastly, the fort, being made substantiall and strong, may bee able to defend his person on occasion against his insultinge Neighbours.

If your Worships intend to Continue this Trade, as wee are Confident you will (for, without this, your pepper trade * is of smale vallew, Especially where you shall buy all for reddy moneyes) the abovesaid proffers are not to bee refus'd. For your fort of Armagon is of noe vallew—indeed better left then keept, for 'tis but a meere Charge to keepe it ; nay, yf it bee kept till next yeare, twill require as much Charge as will build another in the prementioned place ; besides, it affords at present not a peece of good Cloath, for that Nague soe pills and pols the Merchants that they are not able to Comply with their Contracts. Further, this place of Messulapatam is not fitt to bee your Cheif factory, for soe longe as tis soe, in some measure wee must bee subject to these people ; for who knowes what may happen to-morrow ? Your Estate here, upon alteration of goverment, is not secure. Why shall not wee in some things Intimate [imitate ?] our Invetterate and most Mallitious Enemyes, which is, assoone as any goods is bought in their private factoryes, [they ?] send for it in their smale Vessells to their fort at Pullacatt ; by which meanes they keepe these people soe much the more in subjection, and still Command their owne ; the like may wee doe, if your Worships conceive it fitting ; to which wee reffer ourselves. But while the grass grow[s], the steed Starves ; soe, Er these can come to your Worships hands (unless you have given the President power to fortifie, and desolve Armagon) the Dutch by their large bribes † may (when wee would) cause some stopp : which yf they should, yett will [we ?] not doubt to finde some other fitting place, better (for a worse cannot bee) then Armagon.

The Captain-Generall of St. Thomay, in a letter to us by Mr. Day, makes proffer of any place in that Citty, beinge soe Inordered from the Viz Roy : which offer of his and the former wee dare not Imbrace or medle withall, without your Espetiall order, or the President of Bantam. However, as wee made him noe promise to come, soe [we ?] gave him noe absolute Deniall, but defferrd him till our

* At Bantam.

† As possibly the factors were aware, the Dutch were doing their best to prevent the proposed English settlement. Taking advantage of a visit paid by Ayappa to Pulicat about this time, they tried to induce him to use his influence against the scheme. Ayappa took the present they offered him, and gave the promise they desired; but he kept only the former (*Dagh Register*, 1640-41, p. 185).

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Presidents Arrivall, to treate farther on that perticuler. For the Generall etc. Portugalls, as they are now our freinds, will not goe about to opose us ; but, rather then wee should settle att Madraspatam, would afford us any accomodation in St. Thomay, where wee might bee under their Command ; but wee hope yowl give order for the other place, yf any.

To that Ende, assoone as wee had procurd 2,000 pagodas at Interest, to pay our debts at Armagon, wee dispeeded Mr. Francis Day thither, with order to goe from thence to Madraspatam, with our letter and a horse for a Piscash, that soe hee might bee the better persuaded, the Nague, wee would come and settle there ; for the Dutch had reported wee were soe farr in Debt as wee were scarce able to keepe house, and therefore wish'd the Merchants, etc., not beleve (*sic*) as any such thinge as buildinge a fort was intended. And likwise ditto Day, in Company with Mr. Tompkins, to take with him all such goods as were in Armagon unsould, with four horses sent from hence to sell ; as alsoe, yf hee could perswade the Creditors in Armagon to stay for their monyes a longer time (because wee pay noe Interest), to take that Monyes with him. And, whereas a Portugall Vessill, comeinge for shelter to Armagon as shee came from China, was fired by accident (when the Dutch, with two shipps, indevered to surpriz her there) and sav'd most part of their goods ; which goods, without our people, they knew not how to gett away from thence ; therefore wee inordered the said Francis Day to tender them (as they desired) a shipp to Carry their goods for Nagapatam : and, yf the *Unity* might bee suffitient, for her they should give fraight 3 or 4,000 Rials of eight ; but if shee were to little, upon advise (*sic*) and what they would give, to send thither the *Eagle*, assoone as shee is trimd ; which monyes likewise wee appoynted to take with them ; all which would helpe putt of the Cloves and sandall, [and ?] then to make a smale Investment, to try whether really the Place may bee soe benefitiall as wee are Credibly informed it is.

With this letter was sent one to the President at Bantam, requesting his sanction to the undertaking; but before he could reply, an intimation was received from Surat (on the 27th October) that the Coast factories had been removed from the jurisdiction of Bantam and placed under that of Surat.* Cogan and his colleagues thereupon wrote to the latter presidency (8th November) detailing the steps they had taken, and asking whether they might proceed. On the 18th of the same month, "after the receipt of severalls from Mr. Day which Importunes us to goe for Maddaraspatan," they wrote again ; and on the 14th December they followed up this with a third letter, stating that now was an excellent time for getting away from Armagon without loss

* They were soon again subordinated to Bantam, apparently in 1641 (O.C. 1787, 1807).

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(O.C. 1792). The reply, dated the 8th January, 1640, was ambiguous—perhaps designedly so. The project "of fortifyinge at Madraspatam, wee conceave," wrote the Surat Council, "will be so farr advanced that our directions will come too late to improve the action;" if so, they hoped the factors had taken all necessary precautions and had weighed all the objections that might be made to such a course; they agreed "that some such place is very necessary for provition of paintings [chintzes];" and concluded by "wishing you good successe to your undertakeinges" (O.C. 1751).*

This letter, received on the 6th February, 1640, was interpreted as giving the desired permission, and a fortnight later Cogan and Day† arrived at Madraspatam in the *Eagle*,‡ after dismantling the factory at Armagon (O.C. 1748). The erection of a fort was commenced as soon as possible,§ and from the name given to it, we may infer that part (perhaps the inner fort) was finished by St. George's Day (23rd April). Unfortunately we have little information regarding the factors' proceedings at this time. We learn, however, that they had been disappointed by the Naik with regard to the erection of the fort. Writing from Masulipatam to Surat on the 14th October, 1640, Cogan and his colleagues say (*Factory Records: Masulipatam*, vol. 5):—

> The Nague hath confest before us that hee never had an Intent or did ever promise to build other then with Tody Trees and earth; laying the fault on the Lingua [interpreter] for misunderstandinge of him at the time of treatie.

Thereupon, they continue, Day undertook to pay out of his own pocket, if required, the interest on any sum they might find it necessary to borrow to complete the

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* In passing we may note that in this letter the Surat Council suggested the possibility of acquiring "Trengrumbarr" [Tranquebar] from the Danes, "if theire povertie should induce them to parte with yt."

† Day had returned to Armagon some time before; he was there at the end of January (O.C. 1792).

‡ Three weeks after, while riding in the Roads, she was caught by a fierce gale and after a desperate struggle was blown ashore near Alamparai (O.C. 1748).

§ In the charges against Cogan, mentioned later, the cost of the fortification is reckoned from the 1st March, 1640.

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work; but he has since repented of his promise and has asked to be relieved of "this heavy burthen"—a matter which they refer to the decision of the Surat Council. They go on to urge the necessity of the latter sending funds for employment at the new settlement :—

The worke now is in a good forwardness. If it proove good and benificiall for our Masters (as wee doubt not off), the honnour will Redound to you; And therefore you, as you tender your owne honnour, the honour of our Nation, and the honour and proffitt of our Masters, must not only strengthen it with men and matterialls, but with meanes to Imploy such people as comes from our Neighbours to Inhabitt with us. At present wee are, as formerly said, neere 400 families, who daily increase, to the noe small vexation of our loveing neighbours; but as now they hasten to us in hopes of gaine, if they faile in their expectations through not giveing them Imployment, they must and will away again.

This and other letters now lost were passed on to the Company in England by the Surat Presidency with the following remarks (O.C. 1764) :—

From theire [the Coast factors'] forementioned letters you will find (though somewhat untruly introduced) how you became ingaged in the founding and Erecting a New Fort on that Coast, when your old Ruinous building at Armagon was deserted. It hath bine a continued Tenent among as many of your Servants as have bine imployed in those parts, That Goods, especially Paintings, cannot be procured, nor secured when acquired, unlesse you have some place of your owne to protect the workemen from the fræquent inforcements of those tyranous Governors and to lodge your Goods free of the mischeivous Attempts which those treacherous Gentues or Inhabitants of that Country are too often ready to adfer against them. Such a place (rather plot of ground), whose site and conveniencies are in the Agents etc. letters largely discussed, being for ought we heare or know to the contrary offered by that Nague to Fra. Day and that offer furthered by him to the Agent etc. notice, He was directed to take a veiw of it and to treat with the Nague about his confirmation of sundry Immunities and priviledges they would have graunted unto them if the ground liked them. All which was readily effected, the place liked, Their Propositions consented unto and approved, and the Naigue by promise ingaged to be at the charge himselfe of erecting a substantiall fortification. This unexpected successe and unparraleld kindnes in the Naigue were by Fra. Day emphatically notified to the Agent, etc. They upon notice therof hasten these growing hopes of a new, nimble and most cheape Plantation, which we more admired then Credited, And therfore advized them that although they should find that Naigue miraculously inclyned so liberally, freindly, and more really then could enter our beleife, to deale with them, yet they should proceed cautelously, Enquiring first into the causes that induced the Naigue to be so good unto them, And so by circumstances learne his Intendments; since it was not probable that these his Curtesies were so freely bestowed to gaine our freindship only, but rather by our

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vicinity to secure himself from his Neighbours growing greatnes and to have (when this Fort should be created) a safe place to retire into and theare by our assistance defend himselfe.

And thus having prescribed the utmost of Caution in this proceeding, we licensed them to accept the Fort the Naigue promised to build for them ; whereupon Andrew Cogan on the *Eagle* voyaged to Armagon, brought thence whatever belonged to you unto this new guift of the Naigue, Madrazpatam. But when he had done so, and invited the Naigue to goe in hand with the worke, and so performe what he had undertaken, It seemes there was no such thing meant ; for he replyed : The Linguist had misrendred his intentions : That he promised nothing but the ground and some other petty Assistances, And that he had neyther monies nor materialls wherewith to commence, much lesse to perfect, so great a worke. However, your People being now come thither, and finding the ground very convenient for such a service as intended, began to lay the foundation, advized us what had passed twixt the Naigue and them, and that now you must pay for the erection of the Fort if you meant to have one, for they being so farr ingaged in the Action could not with reputation desert the place or desist from building, though the Naigue had thus faltered with them. We blamed theire indiscretion or negligence that would not better understand the Naigue, prescribed continuance of care and caution to prevent greater mischeifes that might through that Peoples treachery befall them, and enjoyned them, since they were resolved to prosecute the worke, to proceed faire and softly, in expectation of what you might please to enorder in affaires of this nature. And thus, though the Portugalls of St. Tome opposed theire proceedings what they might, yet they have so prospered that now the building is in good forwardnes, and 3 or 400 families of Weavers, Painters and other Artificers come to live under your protection. So that it is become a place of great hopes, whence (if Mr. Cogans etc. relations may be Credited) you may acquire yearly very great quantities of Long Cloth for England, and Paintings and many other sortments of Stuffes and Cloathing vendible at Bantam and your other Residencies subordinate to that Presidency. The other Conveniencies and proffits that may from this Fort accrue to you intimated in the Agent etc. letters are in probability acquirable, and will deserve your consideration and owning, And should, we thinke, Encline you to improve them yet more to your advantage by furnishing in ample manner meanes to theire acquiry.

And thus we have cursorily expressed the story of your Forts foundation and erection. If you are pleased to read the severall Circumstances more particularly described, the letters passant twixt us and your Agent etc., wryt in the Moneths of June, July and August will plainely and fully declare them ; and yet among them you will not find that we positively ordered the building of that Fort, as the Agent etc. in theire letter to you (herewith sent) falsely intimate.

As, under the agreement with the Naik, the English were ultimately to repay the whole of his expenditure on the work, his failure to keep his engagement seems a comparatively unimportant matter, though no doubt temporarily embarrassing to the factors. However, no other course was now open to them but to go bravely on

and trust to time to justify their proceedings. To the new settlement was given, at the desire of the Naik, the name of Chennapapatam,* after his father, Chennapa (see pp. 32, 38, 40). In order to attract settlers the factors held out the prospect of freedom from taxes for thirty years; † and the statement in the letters just quoted that three or four hundred families had come in by the autumn of 1640 shows the wisdom of this policy. The factors' chief difficulty was the want of money; and on the 27th November, 1640, we find the Masulipatam Council writing again to Surat (O.C. 1763) for funds "to Imploy our Inhabytants att Madraspatam, without which we feare theil leave us to the shame and dishonour of our Nation . . . . for what is it but to loose all yf, beinge posest of a pile of stone, which will cost noe small matter the keepinge, and noe people to Come neere it, thereby to raise some Utilitie to defray the Charge." One bulwark of the fort, they say, has been completed ‡ for

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* Hence the native name of Madras (Chennapatam).

† "At the Cómpanies first beginning to build a Fort, there was here but only the French Padres and about six Fishermens houses; soe to intice inhabitants to people the place, Proclamation was made in the Companies name that for the terme of thirty years noe Custome of things to be eaten, dranke or worne should be taken of any of the towne dwellers. Now 21 yeares of this time is expired" (*Fort St. George letter to Surat, 24th May*, 1661: see *Factory Records: Fort St. George*, vol. xiv.).

The statement here made as to the previous paucity of inhabitants must be taken as referring to the *new* settlement. The particulars given in the letter of the 25th October, 1639 (quoted above) show that Madraspatam was then a fair-sized place. The Dutch factors, writing early in 1641, say that the English settlement, which formerly consisted of from 15 to 20 fishermen's huts, had now about 70 or 80 houses, as many persons driven from St. Thomé and the neighbouring places through the decline of trade, had resorted thither in hope of employment (*Dagh Register*, 1640-41, p. 185).

As regards the "French padres" (two French Capuchins named Ephraim and Zenon) see Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, vol. i., pp. 111, &c., Ball's edition of Tavernier's *Travels*, vol. i., p. 220, Dellon's account of the Inquisition at Goa (especially the Portuguese translation published at Goa in 1866, p. 21), etc.

‡ Writing a little earlier, the Dutch merchants say that the English have made some progress with their fort, and have got eight iron guns into position, but that they are now slackening their efforts (*Dagh Register*, 1640-41, p. 89). In January, 1641 (*ibid.*, p. 185), they report that a circuit has been marked out, and on the coast on the St. Thomé side one bulwark, built of great blocks of ironstone and faced with *chunam*, has been so far completed that eight guns have been mounted; but the work goes on very slowly for want of money. Six months later, the second bulwark is rising, and at the end of the year this is stated to be almost finished, while considerable progress is being made with the walls. The garrison consists of 35 Englishmen and about the same number of blacks (*ibid.*, p. 421; and 1641-42, p. 266).

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less than 1,500 rials of eight, and they expect that another 4,500 rials will suffice to finish the work. Apparently the cost had created some alarm in the minds of the factors, and they suggest that Francis Day should be required to put into the hands of the Surat authorities, or at least give good security for, a sum of 3,000 or 4,000 pagodas. They add that he has been permitted to proceed to Surat to "Conferr with you conserneinge it, else must he have ben as bigg as his word er he had gone from hence." The Surat Council, however, took a more generous view of the matter and exonerated Day from the burden which his colleagues sought to lay upon him (O.C. 1751). As, however, there were complaints to be answered about some Coromandel cloth, they determined to send him home. He accordingly embarked in the *Crispiana*, which reached the Thames in July, 1641. Evidently the Company did not at this time seriously object to his proceedings on the Coast,* for at the end of that year they sent him back again as supercargo of the *Hopewell*, which reached Madras on the 4th July, 1642.

At some unascertained date the factors must have obtained a cowl from the King of Vijayanagar,† confirming the agreement concluded with the Naik. That some sort of grant was made is clear from the letter quoted on p. 26; but of its nature we know nothing, except that it was not made, as is usually stated, by Sri Ranga III., for he had not yet come to the throne; and secondly, it did not, as is also asserted, hand over to the English a district five miles long and one mile wide,‡ for the grant of 1645 seems to show that the English at that time possessed only Fort St. George and its immediate vicinity. It is probably to this

* Later, on receiving a letter from Surat, dated the 27th January, 1642 (O.C. 1787), blaming Day as "the first Projectour of the forte of St. George," the Court made a note of the charge in their *Black Book;* but nothing seems to have come of it.

† Venkatapati (see p. 25).

‡ This statement, which is constantly repeated, appears to have originated in Hamilton's *Gazetteer* (1820). Hamilton probably based himself upon a statement in Orme; but, if so, he misread his authority, for Orme expressly refers to the extent of Madras territory at the time of the Mogul's grant in 1716.

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cowl that the factors refer in a letter to Bantam (O.C. 1833), dated the 25th August, 1643, when, replying to an inquiry in a Bantam letter of the 31st May, they give particulars (omitted in a former communication) of "the Piscash sente our Naique, or rather the King, thereby to have our Priviledges Confirmd," namely, seven yards of scarlet, sixteen of green, and sixteen of red cloth, ten maunds of sandalwood, three looking-glasses, and one chest of rosewater.

Our information as to what had been happening on the Coast during Day's absence is almost entirely confined to the few facts to be gleaned from a note of "Passages on this Coast from the first September, 1641, to the first September, 1642," appended to O.C. 1791. Our first extract from this document seems to give us the date at which the headquarters of the Agent were moved from Masulipatam to Madras, and the latter was made the chief station of the English on the East Coast of India (see also p. 20). It is as follows :—

The *Reformation* being dispeded and the Companies affairs in Mesulapatam setled, where Mr. Thomas Peniston was left cheife, the 15th September [1641] Andrew Cogan imbarqued himself uppon the *Advice* for Madraspatan, where the 24th he arrived.

A few days later a native woman was murdered; and, with the express sanction of the Naik, the murderers were hanged with due solemnity—the first example of capital punishment in the new territory.

The 15 of December . . . . the great Naique * cam to visit us. . . . The 21 ditto our greate Naique went on boord our shipp, having never till then byn on salt water; wee enterteyned him and all his followers both on boord and ashoare in the best manner wee coold, but not as he expected, for he made account of a far larger *pishcash*, and the rather because he added to our privilidges the Custome free of all his Country. Here he continued upwards of a month, not only a burthen to us but to the whole Country.

Our last extract from this paper has only an indirect bearing on Madras, but is of value as foreshadowing the doom of the Vijayanagar kingdom.

The Naique of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his Country, it being possest part by the Kinge of Golquondah people and the Major part by Raylawar. The Moores have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the Warr, at a place called Cowle Geldancke [? Koil Kantla, in Karnul], the Chiefest place in

* Probably Damarla Venkatappa himself is here meant.

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all that Country, and Raylawar hath a strong Garison in Vinquatagery and Armagon. Indeed, wee are of opinion that the Moores will have all this country ere many years; for what with the Kinge of Vizapore [Bijapur] on one side and the Kinge of Golquondah on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, It is even impossible their country cann continue.

In the letter which accompanied these "passages" to Bantam, dated the 20th September, 1642 (O.C. 1791), the Madras factors write in a curious strain of despondency; "wee are very sencible," they say, "how ridiculous wee have made ourselves by doeing what is done, and lye at our Masters mercies." But in another (O.C. 1792), forwarded at the same time for transmission to the Company, Cogan and his colleagues take a bolder and more dignified tone. They express regret that their action in building a fort has drawn upon them the censure of the Court*: "it even breaks some of our hearts"; but they are convinced that "if so be your Worships will follow this Coast trade (or rather the Karnatt) this place may prove as good as the best; but all things must have its growth and time."

Our vicinitie with St. Thoma is no impediment, at least to us, for only the towne of St. Thoma belongs to the Naique of Tanjour, and round about, even to their very dores, is our Naiques, who keeps them in such awe that they must eat and drinke uppon the matter when he please. What time may worke our Naique to wee cannot devine, but hitherto wee have found him still as good as his word, onely in the Forts erection (the Mayne thing of all); but in that thing he excuseth himself, and did excuse himself ere Mr. Day left this place, for he professed never to promise Mr. Day any such thing; which caused Mr. Day to profer freely to pay the Interest of all the monies that shoold be expended till the Forte was finished, and so much was written to Surrat before Mr. Day went thither and when he went; but your worshipps will not allow of any Charge of [at?] all, neyther in building or payeing of Garrison, but will that all the Charge be bourne by the Naique, that invited us hither. . . .

In the first place, it is our opinion, in reguard the Moores and Gentues are false and not to be trusted, and that at all times you may Command your owne uppon all the Coast, 'tis very necessarie you

* Apparently the Company, in a letter no longer extant, had expressed to Surat their disapproval of the Fort St. George project. In answer to this, the Surat Council, on the 27th January, 1642 (O.C. 1787), while repudiating responsibility for the action of the Coast factors, said that "by what wee have heard of it, the Fort is conveniently enough scited, and may serve you to many good purposes; and therfore since you have bine pleased to referr its maintenance or dissolution to our doome, we have seriously considered of it, and at last resolved to let it stand till your next yeares Battery." It would seem that the letters brought to Madras by the *Hopewell* conveyed in still stronger terms the Company's dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Coast factors.

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have a place to retire to under your owne Command. 'Tis not only our opinions, but the Opinions of your Presidents of Bantam and Surrat. . . . The Dutch saw the necessitie of it 30 years since, which made them proceed upon Pullicatt, to their unreasonable expence in moneys, besides losse of men, ere brought to perfection. . . .

But wee beseech you, if these people build us a forte and pay the Garrison, in what securitie is your Estate and our lives? Suerly in none at all, for it is farr more freedome to Live without a Forte than within, unless the Forte be at its owne devotion. But this Forte of yours, if your worshipps did butt followe this trade as it might be followed, or that you had but two or three small vessells to voyage it too and againe to draw trade hither, all your Charges woold bee bourne with advantage. But if your worshipps are resolved absolutely to leave this trade of Karnatt, advise us, and you shall not be a pice Looser for what worke is done and monies disbursed; which being so, and that your worshipps conclude of one of the two wayes, wee hope to heare of noe More of the Forte.

Recent oppressions at Masulipatam, they urge, show how necessary it is to be independent; and they add that the authorities at that port have been ordered to seize the Agent, if he sets foot ashore there, and send him up to Golconda, where he is to be required to reside, as a hostage for the good behaviour of his countrymen. Armagon, owing to its natural disadvantages, can never be fit for a head settlement.

Wee now are and have byn a twelvemonth constant resident at Maddaras,* and have made that the Cheife place for your other Factories to account to. What condition hath byn made with the Naique long since hath byn sent you by severall conveyances, and therefore forbeare them at present.

Wee have in a foregoeing clause shewed you that St. Thoma belongs to the Naique of Tanjour, who putts in almost monthly (to him that will give most) a new Governor, unto whom even the Portugalls themselves pay Custome. How then shoold wee expect to live there free? Noe, thes Naiques, although they abound in wealth, yet will they not part with a Cash but uppon a certeinty or mighty great hopes to have ten for it. Again, had it byn otherwise and that wee had imbraced theire proffer to reside in that cittie, you must have sought out for such servants to doe your busines as were both stick free and shot fre and such as cood disgest poizon, for this is their dayly practice in St. Thoma, and no Justice, as wee shall shew you after more at Large. . . . .

Your worshipps, wee perceive, have never beene truly informed with the Goverment of Karnatt, † for our Naique hath no more to doe, or is more cared for, where the *Eagle* was wrackt,‡ then is the

* This is the first instance of the use of the abbreviated form. In the original, however, the word comes at the end of a line and has a mark of contraction over it; so we cannot infer that this form had yet become general.

† Vijayanagar. *Karnata* is the Sanskrit name of the country of the Canarese-speaking people. Our "Carnatic," which in practice became restricted to the low country east of the Ghats, is from the adjectival form *Karnataka*.

‡ See p. 13.

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Pope of Roome, or is that nauge respected here. For your worshipps may please to understand that every naique is a king in his owne Country and will attend the greate Kinge at theire pleasure; which will be the losse of this country. . . . .

Wee, as said formerly, have hitherto found our Naique and his people very faire conditioned and indifferent honest. As for your Forte, which is better then half finished, 'tis of such force with the few wee have that wee feare not what any can doe against us, espetially so long as wee have our Naique to our freind or the sea open to furnish us with food.

Repelling with indignation some charges of extravagance, they say:—

At present here wee have two horses, boath not worth their meat; and at Messilupatam you have only one and a Coach with two old Oxen past labour, insomuch as about a month since wee enordered them to give them their libertie to graze and fatt themselves against some shippe came or eate them in the Factory. Thers all the Coast pride. For the Agent hath neither his flaggs, his rundalers,* his torches, his fencers, his drumers (?) on horseback, his fidlers, his horses, or horse of state, nor (and which is not a little admired at) his Pallenkeine, nor are your servants in Messilupatam allowed any for their owne occasions. As for our expence of diett it cannot possible be brought lower then 'tis; for at Massilupatam they spend about 20 pagodas old per month, all things accompted, for matter of dyett, and wee, being here at table constantly nine, oftentimes twelve, besides strangers comers and goers, expend about 30 pagodas new a month; with which some wee cannot often feast it, for as for Servants wee have now so few that wee cannot have lesse and doe your busines.

Finally, Cogan defends himself with vigour against the censure passed upon him individually by the Court. Whatever has been done, he says, was done with the concurrence of his colleagues, who knew more of Coast affairs than he; moreover, he again maintains that the Surat Council had practically sanctioned the building of the fort before it was carried out. As, however, he no longer possesses the Court's confidence, he has asked the President of Bantam to appoint a fresh Agent; he himself intends to make over charge to Day and to proceed to Bantam as soon as possible.

The intention thus announced was not carried out, owing to the remonstrances of his colleagues (O.C. 1801, 1804); and in the spring of 1643 the Bantam Council wrote refusing to supersede him and bidding him to retain his post at least until further advice from England. In August, however, an opportunity occurred of escaping

* Umbrella-bearers.

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without discredit from his unenviable position. The crew of the *Hopewell*, which was on the point of departure for Bantam, refused to sail except with someone on board of sufficient authority to control the master, Andrew Trumball, whose fondness for using his fists to enforce discipline had already driven them to the verge of mutiny. Day, who had been appointed by the Company to take charge of the ship, was at daggers drawn with Trumball, and was as unwilling as the crew to venture to sea with him. In this difficulty Cogan came forward with the proposal that Day should take his place as Agent for the time being, while he himself proceeded to Bantam in the ship. This was approved by a general consultation (O.C. 1832); and Cogan sailed on the 27th August, 1643, reaching Bantam at the end of November. There he had no difficulty in persuading the President to allow him to go home; and he accordingly embarked in the *Mary* about the middle of December, and arrived in England in June, 1644.

With him the Bantam Council sent the following letter, dated the 9th December, 1643 (O.C. 1847):—

> And heere wee supposse it's not amiss to lett your Worships understand that Mr. Francis Day was the first projecture and Contriver of that Forte or Castle in Madrasspatan, which another with a greite deale of discontent, laboure and paines hath now brought to some good pass, being a place of securitie on that Coast as the onelie place of secured saiftie with that Title of honoure (Castle) that ever our nation enjoyed in East India, and therefore in our opinions to bee highlie esteemed. And for its cost it's certaine that if your Worships continew the Indian Trade, in few yeares it will not onelie quitt its owne Charge but allsoe produce benefitt and put monies into your Purses by bringeing a Trade thether, raiseing a Custome there, paying of duties by the Inhabitants neere adjoyning, and being replenisht with Merchants Weavers [&c. ?] whereby you may have all things necessarie and convenient for you under your owne Command; and happy and gladd will manie bee (wherein you will find the benefitt) to come and live under our nation and bee protected by them.

They go on to say that they have had some discourse with Cogan about Fort St. George, the cost of which is not excessive, considering its strength, and will easily be recouped in three years.

> Theirto is an Iland scituated in the River under the Command of the Castle, whereon is likelie to bee made a greate quantitie of Salt yearelie, which is one of the Constantest Commodities in all theise Easterne Parts, and much monies are gotten thereby everiewhere.

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This representation doubtless had due weight with the Court; but finding on his arrival that there were other grounds of suspicion against Cogan, they on the 10th July, 1644, appointed a Committee to review the whole of his conduct while Agent on the Coast. A list of charges was drawn up, and to these he was required to answer in writing. His defence has been preserved in a paper numbered O.C. 1751. To the first charge—"To aunswere the building of the Fort St. George, the charge whereof hath cost from the first March, 1639 [1640] to the 30th June, 1643, the sum of pagodas new 9250"—he replied by pleading authority from Surat. As for the alleged cost, he declared that the figures must either be wrong or must include a number of charges for diet, factors' wages, etc., which would have been incurred just as much had any other station been chosen for the head factory; in any case they were swollen by charges for interest for which (as already stated) Day had made himself responsible, but which had been remitted by the Surat authorities. Being interrogated "whither the fort be finished, or howe farr yt is proceeded," he replied:—

Three bulwareks and the Tower (or house) in the midst is finished, and 34 pieces of Ordnance mounted er I came from thence, and some parte of the Materialls provided to goe on with the rest. But for your better information I heerewith present your Worships with a Mapp or draught* of the Fortt as yt was at first intended, and by which you may more plainely see whats donne and whats to doe.†

* Unfortunately this is not extant. Its loss is only partially supplied by the plan given in Dr. Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia* (p. 37), which purports to represent the Fort as it was in 1673, but which is palpably wrong in several particulars and inconsistent with the text of that work.

† As a pendant to this account of the Fort we may quote a letter written from Madras to the Company on the 8th September, 1644 (O.C. 1885):—

"The Fort St. George hath allready cost in building 2,294*l.* 17*s.* 2½*d.* . . . . . and to finish the Rest and to Compleate it according to the worke begune, with ware house Roome, lodging for factors and Souldiers, with other needfull additions of Building, and soe fortified as fame reporteth it is (though not soe), it cannot Cost less then 2,000*l.* more; notwithstanding three of the foure Quadrangle points bee finished, yett the other point with the three walls betweene the three points which are finished, with lodging and ware house Roome, will cost full as much as the Sume aforementioned. And the monthly Charge which wee are at now for fiftie men is 54*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, as by the Abstract of the particulars of mens names and wages appeareth; soe that when it is Compleated there cannot bee less then 100 Souldiers, which will double the charge. . . . . When it is finished and 100 Souldiers for the defence of it, wee need not feare any inland Enemy neare unto us in these parts."

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The remaining charges related chiefly to that heinous offence "private trading," but on this point Cogan seems to have succeeded in vindicating himself without difficulty; and at a final meeting on the 13th May, 1645, the Committee resolved that, although it was—

> A very indiscreete action to goe about the building of such a Fort when the Companies stocke was soe small, yett if ever the Companie have a plentifull stocke it may bee very comodious and advantagious for them; and since it was the joynt act of all the factors there, and not soly or perticulerly of Mr. Cogans, and if it should not proove soe advantagious for the Companie heereafter, it can bee charged upon noe man more justly then on Mr. Day; and this Committee were joyntly of opinion to cleare Mr. Cogan of this Charge.

It would not be fair to quit the subject without pointing out that to Cogan is due at least a share of the credit usually given to Day for the establishment of Fort St. George. It is true that the project originated with the latter, and that its successful accomplishment was largely due to his energy and perseverance, but it is equally certain that it would never have been carried out had he not been supported and assisted by Cogan; and it was the latter, as the superior officer, who took the responsibility, and in fact to a large extent actually directed the work, especially after Day's departure towards the close of 1640. This is fully recognised in the letter from Bantam quoted on p. 22; and that it was also remembered at Madras itself is shewn by an entry in Puckle's Diary, 1675–76 (*Factory Records: Masulipatam*, vol. 12), where, speaking of Cogan's son, the writer adds: "whose Father built Fort St. George." Nowadays, however, Cogan is quite forgotten, and Day gets all the praise.

We must now return to Madras, where Day remained in charge until relieved on the 4th August, 1644, by Thomas Ivy, who had been despatched from Bantam to act as Agent on the Coromandel Coast (O.C. 1885). Of late the chief topic of interest in the factors' letters had been the disturbed state of the country, and the wars between the Hindu inhabitants and the Musalman invaders. King Venkatapati died in the autumn of 1642, and his successor, Sri Ranga III., had to contend not only with the Muhammadan kings of Golconda and

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Bijapur, on two different frontiers of his kingdom, but also with treason and rebellion among those who should have been his strongest supporters.* But we will let the factors' letters, etc., tell the story in their own way. The record of a consultation at Fort St. George on the 29th December, 1642 (O.C. 1804) notes that:—

The warrs and broyls increasing in this Countrey, and now by reason of our great naiques imprisonment drawing nere to us, wee latelie raised a third Bulwarke of turfe; and wanting Gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us foure Minion for that purpose.

On the 4th of the following month, they write to Bantam (O.C. 1805) to the same effect. Trade, they say, is dull,—

This Countrie being all in Broiles, the old Kinge of Karnatt being dead; soe is the Naique of Armagon, whose Countrie is all in the handes of the Moores, and whoe will ere long by all likelyhood bee Maisters of all this Countrie; for our Naique, not findeing the Respect from the new Kinge as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moores, but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'twas discovered, he apprehended by the Kinge, who hath seazd a greate parte of his Countrie†; but wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and release him, for our Naiques brother and kindsmen ar levying an Armie for his rescue, whoe, with the helpe of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayes Journey of each other), will force his libertie or ruine the whole Kingdome.

The Dutch have sent a *pishcash* to the new King, worth about 4,000 pagodas, and the Portuguese one of much smaller value (about 200 pagodas).

Somewhat is expected from us; but untill our Naique and the Kinge bee eyther reconcyled or absolutely outed, wee intend to stand uppon our gaurd and keepe what wee have.

In the letter of the 25th August, 1643, a portion of which we have already quoted, the factors say:—

This Countrey hath byn and still is at present all in broyles, one Nague against another, and most against the King, which makes all

* Here again we are indebted to the *Dagh Register* (1643–44, p. 244) for details. This states that "Weijneketapatij" died of a burning fever, after lying sick for five or six days; and his corpse was burnt with due ceremony on October 12, 1642 (New Style) at "Narrewarom" (Narayanavanam, 50 miles west of Pulicat). He left no children except an illegitimate son, who by the law of the land could not succeed to the throne. After much dispute "Serangereijl" (Sri Ranga Rayal), his nephew, was proclaimed king on October 29 (N.S.); but many of the chiefs were ill-pleased at the choice and were likely to cause trouble.

† This is corroborated by the *Dagh Register* (1643–44, p. 244).

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trade at a stand ; but the King, by meanes of the King of Vizapore, whoe for 15 lacke of Pagothaes and 24 Eliphants hath sente some thousands of horse for his assistance, is like to have the better.

In January, 1644, we learn that the Naik has been finally disgraced, and that his place has been given to Mollay,* the merchant through whom the Dutch conducted their transactions with the natives. The English are consequently afraid that their competitors at Pulicat will now become all-powerful (Fort St. George to Bantam, 28th January, 1644: O.C. 1859):—

. . . . Such a storme is prepareing for us that 'tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch have bine longe a projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay their Merchant is Like to bee as Powerfull with this King as the *Serkayle* is att Gulcandah ; and to ingratiate him throughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and Gunns for the subdueing of Castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their owne use ; by which meanes our Nague is Casherd and hee substituted, and is allso made his Treasurer and dus even in a manner Command all, and 'tis very probable that hee will governe all the Seaports even to the very verges of Cealon ; and whatt this may come to in a short time is noe hard matter to Judge of. Beleive itt 'tis not for naught that the Dutch assist him in this manner, for their ayme is to have the sole Trade of the Coaste ; and if you doe not sett to the helping hand, and that suddenly, adue to all . . .

For our Competitors the Dutch dus dayly draw many advantages by our Long and teadious vacations (*sic*), for, beleive it, they ayme att the sole trade, thereof never being such possibillities as at present. For the Portugalls, they play Least in sight ; nay, 'tis to bee Dubitated whether they will have any abideing place in these parts within this few months, for the Dutch gives itt out that they intend to take St. Thomay at the returne of their Fleete from Goa ; and as for the Danes hee is in as bad or worse Condition. And 'tis very probable wee may bee in the same predicament in a short time, being soe far removed and estranged from our Masters and your good opinions that all that goes from hence meets with disrespects and scorne. . . .

Wee have in a former Clause made Nomination of Mollay. Wee are sorry wee have occasion to treate of him farther. Some few daies sence hee made demande to have the Goverment of this place and all the profetts to himselfe, which is Contrary to those Cowles of the former King and our Nagues, for by those the Goverment is given to us, with halfe its Proffitt ; which if wee should yeeld thereto, by Surrendering our previledge, the Towne would bee suddenly Ruinated by the Raiseing of the Customes, for therein they † ground theire pollice to worke us the mischeife. But wee Intend not soe Easily to part with our emunities, and if hee shall any way mollest us, if opportunity presents for a retalliation wee shall make the Best use thereof. And indeed wee beleive there may bee such a Course taken that may fright Mollay for entertay[n]einge such thoughts.

* The "Malaije" of the Dutch records.
† The Dutch.

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This wee conceive facill, if wee had some more hands to reinforce our Garrison and a small vessell of a reasonable force, to attend if occasion should require some of his vessells ; boath which should not bee alltogeather unproffitable, but should serve for many other uses and well merritt their charge ; this with the Presidents Presence, which is most necessary and on which depends much of its good success, for to direct and order its proceedings, we Belive would not miss of a thriveing issue, and give good sattisfaction to our Masters and encourage those that shall have its prosecution ; otherwise wee feare itt will not bee undertakein But with two much Timarousness, which may marr all, being Dubious of its conclusion (for all things in this Terren world has a mixture of uncertainetyes), and then knowing that the Success, and not the intent, is acceptable, therefore to daingerous for any here to undertake this Course, [which ?] to our approbation wee Conceive promises securitie. Wee beseech you not to thinke slightly of these advices, for, Beleive it, they are of greate Concernments. . . .

Wee shall now treat somewhatt of this Fortt Erectition (*sic*), which hath indured maney Batteries (and groundless ones), and endeavor to putt a Period to all such vaine and unproffitable attempts ; which may with facillitie bee effected if the Worshipfull Presidentt would bee pleased to sett to his helping hand and reflex upon the Armagon prizes, compareing them with these of this place. Indeed, if hee pleases to undertake it, as wee are Confidentt he will, being zealous of our Masters good, and advise thus much for Eu[rop]e, wee shall not doubt then of a thriveing issue ; for [those ?] sorts as wee here pay 7, 7½ and 8 pagodas wee did there pay 10 Day (*sic* ? nay), 11, 12 pagodas, and soe accordingly. This wee neede nott Insert or nominate, being they are soe well knowne to the President and the Bookes are yet Extant which acknowledges as much, which Dus not a Little Comforte us when wee Cogitate thereon ; and hope by his meanes this place, the Coast and factors, may bee better esteemed with our Masters, for at present their factors are weary of their unthankefull Employment and most of [them ?] doe desire a releasement, for Poverty with Content is better than abundance with discontent. . . .

When next we hear from Madras, some eight months later, the factors' fear of aggressive action on the part of Mollay appears to have passed away, and danger is looked for from another direction. The Golconda troops are steadily pressing southwards, and although repulsed for a time are still threatening (Fort St. George to the Company, 8th September, 1644 : O.C. 1885) :—

The Moores but 5 weekes past had advanced with ther armes within three Myles of Pullicatt and sent unto the Duch Governour to Surrender up there Castle ; and we did suddenly expect the same ; but shortly after the Jentues came downe with a greate power, gave the Moores Battle, routed there Armie and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon, where they are now a gathering a head againe, soe the dainger that we live in is yet unknowne.

Exactly a year later (8th Sept., 1645 : O.C. 1945) the Fort factors write to Surat that Mollay and the Dutch

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have quarrelled, and that the former is besieging Pulicat with a considerable force :—

Wee have formerly * advised you of the great difference betwixt the Dutch and Molay, which now is fallen into open warrs. And 13th August there was a Dutch Marchant going from St. Tome to Pullicatt, and within five miles of the place, at a little towne where lay 150 of Molays souldyers, was by them seased upon. Which newes presently was carryed to Pullicatt, whereupon the Dutch Governour presently sent out 40 Dutch Musketeirs and 150 Blacke souldyers with 2 Brass guns, to rescue their Marchant and to take him from Molayes souldyers perforce. But noe sooner the Dutch approached neare the towne where their Marchant was, but the Gentues souldyers (being but 150 as aforesaid) plyed att them with ther small shot ; and the Dutch answering them againe with there two Brasse gunes, which they discharged at the Jentyues 6 or 8 tymes, which noise drew more ayde unto the Jentues, which soone caused the Dutch to retreate to their Fort, but was forced to leave their two Brass gunes and their Marchant behind them, to their great disgrace and shame. The Marchant is now in our Fort upon his ransome of 2,000 pagodas, which the Agent hath, upon a Letter from the Governour of Pullicate to him, ingaged himselfe unto Molay for the payment of the mony or the returne of his Person dead or alive uppon demand. Soe that it is come to such a passe through Molayes meanes, who is in such favour with the King that he ruleth both King and Contry, and hath prevaled soe farr with the King to send his Mandates to all his Governours throughout his kingdome to seaze upon all the goods which is in any Jentue Marchants hands belonginge unto the Dutch, and whosoever shalbe found to deny any of their goods, that party to be seazd upon and all his estate forfitted unto the Kinge. And it is not only the goods of the Dutch they seaze uppon but their persons also ; Soe that they have in Allumbrough † seazd upon two Dutchmen and taken 6,000 Ryalls of eight in goods from them and put their men in Irons ; and here in these parts they have seazed upon neare 30,000 Ryalls of eight more in goods. And most parte of the said goods are allready gott together by the Kings officers to a greatt Towne some t[w]elve miles from our Fort, where all the other goods must be brought and there sould by the Kings Bramine and officers to those Marchants that hath mony to buy them. Soe that what goods is already sould is Bought by our Marchants which are indebted unto our Company, which they have brought unto our fort for parte satisfaction of their debts ; and soe soone as the rest of [the] goods are gott together, they intend to buy them alsoe and bring them unto us ; soe that within this 20 dayes we make noe question but they will bring us in to the amount of 30,000 Ryals in very good cloth . . . .

Wee disputed amongst ourselves before wee received these goods of our Marchants, beinge taken from the Dutch Marchants by the Kinge and Molay as aforesaid, whether wee might in the least kind infringe the Articles of peace betwixt [us] and the Dutch, or that they could in any kind have any pretence against us in this doeinge ; soe we Jointly and severally concluded that we might lawfully receave these goods of our Marchants, they being ingaged to our Company and the goods in the open Markett sould unto them by the Kings officers. Moreover, the Dutch had never possession of these goods, neither were they taken from them, but seized upon by the

* In a letter no longer extant. † Alamparai ?

Kinge in the hands of his owne subjects ; soe that noe man can justly say that they are the Dutch their goods ; neither as yett hath the Governour of Pullicatte protested against us for doeinge what we have done. . . . .

. . . . We must beseech you and the President of Bantam to provide us with shippinge and monyes for the mainteininge of our Creditte, which now lyeth att stake with our Merchants, for if we now fayle them, they wilbe utterly disparaged and we shamfully disgraced, even to the Losse of the Companies trade in this Kings dominions, which is proferred wholly to us, and that the Dutch shall never trade here againe, provided we have an annuall supply of 150,000 rials of eight, which we can easily invest here at the same Charge as we now are att ; and we are Confident that our Merchants will not fayle us in what they promise, in reguard the Cheife of them is Molay his bosome freind, whome he endeavoreth to make sole Marchant in this Kings Dominions, as himselfe was in a Manner when he was with the Dutch. . . . .

The Dutch were not disposed to acquiesce in the purchase by the English of the chintzes seized and sold by Mollay, and the Governor of Pulicat soon notified Ivy and his colleagues that English ships would be searched, and any of those goods found on board would be confiscated (O.C. 1951). His contention appears to have been that Mollay had no authority from the King to make war, and that consequently the English were simply receiving stolen goods. The factors thereupon decided to appeal to the King to certify that Mollay had acted under his orders; and they judged it prudent, as their Naik was no longer in power and his successor was just now particularly friendly towards them, to take this opportunity to obtain the King's confirmation of the privileges granted by his predecessor. In a letter to the Company, 1st October, 1645 : (O.C. 1952), they say :—

The difference betwixt the Dutch and Mollay, their quondom great merchant,* is now fallen out into open warrs, and ever since the 13th August Mollay by order and leave of the Kinge hath beseiged Pullecatt, and by the same order and power hath seiz'd uppon all the goods in the Jentue merchants hands in this Kingdome belonging unto the Dutch. . . . . It is credibly reported that the Kinge is

* With this letter, the factors say, they forward a translation of a Portuguese document sent by Mollay to the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, wherein "your worships shall finde an ample relation of the begining to this present date, as well as the true discovery of the Hollanders great tradeing and falce projects with your worships in this kings Territoryes." This is not now to be found, but an abstract in O.C. 1884 states that "the occasion of the warr betweene Molay and the Dutch came by the Governours of Pullicate imprisoning of Mollays sonn, brother-in-law and famillie, and takeing awaie of Mollays goods upon a pretence that he was indebted to the Dutch."

Unfortunately the *Dagh Register* for this period is not yet available.

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sending downe great Ordinance and more power against Pullecatt to Burne the Towne and beate downe the Fort. The former may bee done, but for the latter they will finde [it?] a hard Taske to performe. . . . . The Kinge, as wee are Credibly inform'd, hath vowed the distruction of Pullecatt, and to turne all the Dutchmen out of his Cuntrey. . . . .

Wee have bin often tymes sollicited by this kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessors since our first arivall heere, which is now 7 yeares allmost; soe if wee any longer deny his reasonable request, wee may suddainely Expect his Just displeasure and peradventure have a Seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defence, who hath twenty for one more than wee, soe that if the like should happen unto us, what can you expect of fifty well and sicke men, to defend your estate and Fort against the king's power . . . . soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civill Comportment and respect to the kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders Potencie, and at present are in such esteeme with the king and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Honble. English East India Company; and for the mayntenance of the same and the kings favour wee are . . . . resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry Greenhill* with foure other english souldiers for his attendance for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the great Nague, under whose protection formerly wee liv'd but now the kinge hath taken his power and this Cuntry from him, soe that his power and protection is of noe longer vallue. Soe now findeing a fitting opportunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the Adition of a great many more, by this now Reigneing king, which hath brought all his great Lords unto his Comand, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before; this by Mollayes Assistance wee make noe question to obtayne. And another reason for the sending of Mr. Greenhill to the king is, because that our powerfull freinds the Governour, etc., of Pullecatt would make us beleive that Mollay is a villiane and a heighway Robber, and that wee, in receiveing those goods of our merchants which Mollay hath stollen and sould to them, are as bad as hee, and therefore will take those goods out of our shipps wheresoever they meete them, and to this effect hath given their Commissions to all their Commanders to search our shipps wheresoever they meete them, thinkeing thus to buncke us out of 400 bales of goods which our merchants hath in Fort St. George and at our washers in possession; soe should wee disapoint our Surratt President of his Mocho shipps ladeinge of goods (and better goods wee know hee cannot have for that place); therefore, untill wee have his approbation, wee are resolved to our Power to maynetayne our merchants in that Just cause that wee well know they are in, in regard wee finde they doe truely indeavour your proffitt and their owne Credditts, and for these goods wee well knowe they have paid to the uttermost vallue of them, and soe must wee likewise. Therefore, because the Hollanders shall not say that wee are the receivers of stollen goods, wee doe send Mr. Greenhill and four other Englishmen unto the kinge to

* In Bruce's *Annals* (vol. i., p. 415) Greenhill's mission is erroneously described as being to Golconda. He was afterwards Agent at Madras from early in 1655 till his death on the 4th January, 1659.

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beseech his hand and signett to testifie to the whole world that Mollay is no villiane nor theife, and what warr is Comenced against the Hollanders is by his Majesties Command, as well as the goods taken from his Subjects belonging to the Hollanders, sould by his officers with the same Comand. Soe that when wee have this from the kinge under his owne hand and signett, and that by his owne hand is delivered unto Mr. Greenhill in presence of four other Englishmen, wee hope when wee shall have Sent the Coppie thereof to the Governour of Pullecatt, hee will noe longer threaten us for the receiveinge of stollen goods. This wee intend to doe before wee receive a peece of these 400 Bales of Cloath ; and then in the future if the Hollanders abuse and affront us, wee make noe question but you will maynetayne us in a right and Just cause. . . . .

Before the letter could be despatched, a message arrived from the King ordering the English factors to assist in the operations against Pulicat, and to buy the goods already taken from the Dutch ; approving also the despatch of Mr. Henry Greenhill to court. This is stated in a hasty postscript :—

This Instant wee received a letter from the King by two of our owne Servants whome wee sent to him for that purpose, which letter was deliverd unto our Servants in the presence of the Kinge, who with his owne mouth bade them to deliver it unto the Agent.

The translate of that letter out of Jentue into English, wee send unto you herewith for your perusall. . . . .

The enclosure is as follows (O.C. 1948) :—

Arlour,* the 25th September, 1645.

Zree Seringo Raylo,† King of Kings, alsoe in his Kingdome, in Armes invincible, &c., unto the Captain of the English, these :

The Hollanders, who have their residence in Pullacatt, not valuinge my letters, hath Constrained mee to Commence a warre against them, the Charge whereof is Committed unto Chenana Chety, whom you are to assist therein with artillery, Powder, shott, fireworks ; and in soe doing you shall pleasure us. Whatever goods appertained unto the Hollanders in my Kingdome, I account it as my peculiar and proper wealth ; which being all come to Madrasapatam, wee will that you buy and pay monies for the same, proceeding therein as Chenana Chety and Seradra shall prescribe, not failing at all in its performance. And whereas I am given to understand by Chenana Chety that you intend to send upp a man of quality unto us, am very well pleased, for that you have allwaies esteemed my ordinances ; and as Chenana Chety will advize, soe shall you bee sure to receive Content, nor bee you induced to beleive the Contrary, but Confide upon our word and hast to visitt us by your second and whomsoever else you send along with him ; for whose secure repayre unto our Court this our Firman shall suffice. As for other matters Chinana Chety will advise you.‡

* Vellore, which was called Rye Ellore (Raya-elluru).

† Really a plural form of *Raya* or *Raja*. It was one of the usual titles of the Vijayanagar sovereign.

‡ Endorsed, "The King of Bissnageree letter to the Agent in Madrasapatam."

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Our next extract relates the success of the embassy (Fort St. George to Surat, 21st January, 1646: O.C. 1974):—

. . . In our foregoeing [*i.e.*, O.C. 1951] we advised you of our intention in Sending of Mr. Grinhill to the King; who is returned againe and hath well effected what he went for, which was to have our ould privalidge, with some addition, neiw confirmed by this King, and his letter for the avouchment of the warre betwixt him and the hollanders,* and to maintaine us in the buying of such goods as was taken in the warre; all which we have obtained, under the Kings owne hand. Coppies thereof, translated out of Jentue into English, goeth herewith for your perusall. . . .

The cowl is to the following effect †:—

In the yeare Partrewa, the month Cartid[a], the Moone in the wane, the King over all King[s] the Holiest and amongst all Cavalliers the greatest, Zree Renga Raya, the Mighty King God, gives this Coule unto Agent Thomas Ivie, Cheife Capt[aine] of the English, and the Company of that Nation.

Forasmuch as you have left Armagon and are come to Zera-Renga-Rayapatan my towne,‡ at first but of smale esteme, and have

---

* This letter is not extant, but it may have been so when the Register of the Original Correspondence series was compiled (1831), as it is there entered (under No. 1697, which is quite a different document, see below) as a letter from the King, of the same date as the grant of privileges, "commanding the Agent to co-operate with Molay against the Dutch at Pulicat." Possibly, however, there was some confusion with O.C. 1948.

† There are three contemporary copies in the I.O. Records, viz., No. 1696 in the *duplicate* O.C. series; No. 1696 in the *original* O.C. series (endorsed, "Coppie, Kings Cowle given to the Agent concerning the privilidges reconfirmd"); and No. 1697 in the same series (endorsed, "Translation of the King's Coule given the Agent"). We here follow the first of these, which, as shewn by a comparison of handwriting, was the original enclosure to the factors' letter.

The date given in the document itself, viz., the second half of the month *Karttika* in the year *Parthiva*, agrees with the English date in the eighteenth-century version quoted later (15th November), except that the latter, obviously by a slip, makes the year 1643 instead of 1645.

‡ Upon the use of this term appears to be based the well-known story, that at the time of its foundation Sri Ranga expressly enjoined that the new settlement should be named after him, but that his purpose was defeated by the local Naik, who managed to get it called after his own father, Chennapa. The legend seems to have been originated by Walter Hamilton (see his *Gazetteer*, published in 1820, vol. ii., p. 413), who may possibly have seen a copy of this grant among the official records he was allowed to consult, and conceived this explanation of the double nomenclature. The story is not found in Bruce's *Annals* (1810), or in the MS. collection of papers put together at the East India House in 1788-89 (*Factory Records: Miscellaneous*, vol. ix.). The principal drawback to the credibility of the narrative—the fact that Sri Ranga did not succeed to the throne till two years after the establishment of the settlement—was of course unknown to Hamilton.

What then is the explanation of the change of name? This can only be a matter of surmise; but the most probable theory is that it was intended by the King as a mark of favour to the English factors. The fact that the family of Chennapa was now in disgrace may also have had a share in bringing about the alteration.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the change was never made—probably not even during the brief period before the district passed from under the

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there built a Forte and brought trade to the Poarte: therefore, that you may be the better encoraged to prosecute the same and amplify the towne which beares our name, wee doe freely release you of all Customes or dutyes upon whatsoever goods brought * or sould in that place appertaining [unto] your Company. Alsoe we grant unto your Company halfe of all the Customes or dutyes which shall be received att the Portt, and the Rents of the Ground aboute the Village Madraspatam; as alsoe the Jaccall ground † wee give you towards your charges, by way of *piscash*.

Moreover, for the better mannaging your buisnes, wee surrender the goverment and justice of the towne into your hands. And if any of your neighbores of Pundomolee ‡ shall injure you, wee promise you our ready assistance. And for what provisions shall be brought out of that Cuntry wee will that noe Junken § be taken thereon.

If it fortune that any of your Companies shipps shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore att that Porte whatsoever can be saved shall remain your one [owne]; and the like touching all Merchants that trade att the Port, if the owner comes to demand it; but if the owner be not to be found, then our officers shall seize the same to our behoofe.

Wee also promise still to retaine the towne in our protection and not subject it to the goverment of Pondomolee or any other Nague. And whatsoever Merchandizes of yours that shall pass through the country of Pondomolee, to pay but halfe Customes.‖

In Confidence of this our Coule you may cheerfully proceed in your affaires; wherein if any of our peopell shall Molest you, we give you our Faith to take your cause into our owne hands to doe you right and assist you against them. And that this [your] porte and this our Coule may stand Firme as long as the sunn and moone endureth. ZREE RAMA.

In the *Treaties* series of I.O. Records (vol. 3.), amongst a collection of *farmans* made in 1717, is another version of this grant. It is stated to have been transcribed from a copy in a book of *Letters sent from Fort William*, 1713-14; and as it is evidently derived from an independent translation we quote it for purposes of comparison:—

Translation of a Cowle given by Steeranga (*sic*) Railo to Agent Ivie, dated 15th November, 1643.¶

You have left the Place called Armagon, and are come now to one of my new Towns called Steeranga-Rayapatnam, where you are

king's rule. For five years the settlement had been known to the natives as Chennapatam, and Chennapatam they have continued to call it down to the present day.

The new name seems to have been intended to apply (like Chennapatam) only to the English settlement. The "village Madraspatam" is separately mentioned in the grant.

* "Bought" in the other two copies.

† Possibly the "jackal-ground" was a waste piece between the Fort and the village of Madraspatam.

‡ Punamallu. The form here used is the Tamil *Pundamalli*.

§ Duty on goods (Tel. *sunkam*, Mal. and Tamil *chunkam*).

‖ This clause is omitted in the later version.

¶ An error for 1645, as already stated.

making a Fort and Bulwarks, and to do your Merchandize and Trade ; to which purpose I give you this Cowle, with the following Contents, vizt. :—

Touching your Company's merchandize : they shall pay no Custom, neither for importing, nor exporting, any of their Goods. And all what shall come in, for Custom of the said Town, the half shall be for your Company, and the other half for the Divan. And besides this, I do freely give to the Company the Town called Madrassapatam, and all the Ground belongeth to it, at their disposure ; and all the Government and Justice of the said Town shall be executed by you. And if any person should wrong you in any part of my Country, or in the said Town, in your Merchandize, or in any other matters, I shall take care to do you justice and right. Also no people belonging to the Governor of Pundamallee, nor of its Country, shall come, nor have any thing to do in your Town ; neither shall you pay any Juncan for what provisions shall be brought for your Fort's use. If any of your Ships should be cast ashore, you shall take all the things that shall be saved ; and, if any other Ships, belonging to any other Strangers, should [be ?] cast ashore ; if there be no Owners for it, then all them things that shall be saved shall be for the Divan's account. And, besides, the said Town shall never be under the Government of Pundamalle's Country ; nor shall be given to any other Government ; but shall remain clear under the Divan. Seeing I have given you the like Cowle concerning the said Town and Merchandize, I shall take care that you shall in no ways be molested by no person ; to which you may trust to my faith, and do your Merchandize without any kind of fear.

Our next extract from the letter of the 21st January, 1646, sounds a totally different note :—

We Cannot denie your godly motion in sinding of us a Minnister heither to assist us in our prayers for better Succese.*

The factors then go on to speak of the state of the war :—

Soe haiving to our knowlege given answere unto your Letter and transcripts for as much as Concerneth the Companies busines, shall in a word or too accquante you how the warres stand betwixt the King of Vinagar (*sic*) and the Hollanders, and soe conclude.

Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the King hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore, and in Civell wares with three of his great Nagues ; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a Considerable foorse aginst Pullacatt, more then 4,000 souldiers that lay before it to Stopp the wayes that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his Generall, Meir Gumlack,† with a great Armie. to appose this King, who is advance[d] to the Jentues Cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got togeather 50,000 souldiers,

* From O.C. 1884 it appears that a minister named Isaacson was sent from Surat to the Coast in 1644, but he died at Masulipatam on the 2nd August in that year (O.C. 1885). In a letter to Bantam on the 1st October, 1645 (O.C. 1953), the Fort St. George factors mentioned the receipt of "a petition from the souldiers for the desireing of a minnister to be heere with them for the maintainance of their soules health, which petition goeth heerewith, beseeching your wisdomes devote consideration therein."

† The celebrated Mir Jumla.

as reporte saith, whereof 3,000 he sent for from Pullacatt to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry. Soe their is now remainning before Pullacatt but one thousand, of which the Dutch made noe esteeme of ; but thinking by a project to cut them all of and to bring in one of the Kings great artilliry (which is as much as 500 men can well draw) into Pullicatt, soe in an evening 20 dayes sence sallied out with 200 Hollanders, 500 Musteezaes,* to cut of these 1,000 Jentues and to bring the Kings great gunn into Pullacat. Butt hee that first putt his hand upon the gunn (which was an Englishman that servd the Duch) left his life there and 29 hollanders more, besides 12 Musteezaes ; and 8 hollanders more in there flight was soe wounded they died in 5 dayes after they gott into Pullacat ; and the Captaine that ledd the 700 hollanders and Musteezaies hardly s[c]apped, being struck with a Lance upon one of his Buttons, which saved his life, but shrowdly wounded. Soe the warre Continueth still betwex[t] and the hollanders ; and without there payment of 60,000 Rialls of eight, the King will not heere of any peece.

Three weeks later (10th February, 1646) they write again to Surat (O.C. 1975) :—

This Countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores Armie is come into this Cuntry on the one side and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings Castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this Kingdome ; where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumla, uppon Compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free ; but how hee will be received by the King, we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday ; and how wee are like to doe in this troublesome Cuntrey, that hath neither shipp nor boate to secure the Companies estate, wee leave you to judge. Therefore wee beseech you in their behalfes, so soone as possibly you can, to dispeede one shipp or other unto us for the preservation of our Masters estates. . . . .

From Madras we hear little or nothing more till the 4th January, 1647, when a letter to Masulipatam (O.C. 2015) refers to a famine then raging, and implores the factors to send them some pigs, "for here is not any provisions of Flesh to be gott for money, so that if you supply us not from Messulpatam by all Conveighances, as our drinke is only water, so must our Dyett be only rice; to this miserable pass are wee and this country brought unto."

The prevalent distress is emphasised in a note to Surat on the 21st of the same month (O.C. 2019), in which the factors say :—

The Famine is so great in this Kingdome that wee beleive it will bee the Destruction thereof, for there hath not fallen any rayne this

* Half-castes (Port. *mestiço*).

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yeare for the increase of any graine to releive the people, and now the season of the Raynes are past; so that if the Allmighty doe not send supply from other parts the Country will be so Dispopulated that it will bee unpossible to recover it selfe againe in five yeares time. Therefore we Earnestly beseech you to send us by the shipping you intend hither in Aprill or May next 100 or two Tunns ordinary Rice to preserve the lives of those few Painters, Weavers and Washers which remaine aboute us; by which meanes wee shall bee the better able to comply with you in the Pegu investment. And no question but the Rice will yeald cent. per cent. proffitt, for 'tis worth here at present two rials of eight the hundred pound weight, and by May or June next no question but it will yeald halfe as much more. Likewise we would intreate you to supply us with tenn Englishmen to serve here as soldyers, for Mortallity and the Moores Campp * hath taken all away to 25 persons, whereof 4 or 5 are Continually sick with the misserie of the times; for we have not, nor is here any thing to bee bought to relive any sick person, unless hee will Eate Carryon beife, which wee procure out of the Moores Campp, which we obtaine by much favour. This is our missery; yet our Freinds at Messulapatam will not bee sencible of this, notwithstanding our many and earnest requests unto them to send us some provisions from thence to releive us; and wee are now driven to that pass that we are forced to goe to Lowance of Rice, and are not able to subsist longer then 5 or 8 daies. Our wants are such that we are ashamd to make it knowne. Wee allso intreate you to send us twentie Baggs of wheate for our howse Expence.

Things were no better by the autumn; for in a letter to the Company dated 9th October, 1647 (O.C. 2046), the Madras factors (Ivy and Gurney) say:—

How violent the famine hath bine here, 'tis not to bee Credited; for out of the Towne of Madraspatam died in five months time 4,000 per[sons], out of Pullicatte 15,000 in as little tyme, and out of St. Th[ome] no less then out of Pullicatte; so that heere is not above one third of the Weavers, Painters and Wasshers livinge of what were formerly, which causeth cloth in these parts to bee 15 per *cent.* dearer then formerly, and litle or none at all to bee procur'd. . . . .

They proceed to ask for more factors (there are but three at Madras and six more at other stations on the Coast) and soldiers, of whom there are only 33 left. The factors have, however, good news as well as bad. We hear, for instance, the end of the dispute between the Dutch and their native agent:—

Molay, by many letters of Solicitation from the Hollanders Gennerall of Jaccatra to Molay, is returned againe to Pullicatte and receaved by the Governor with great honour and respect and hath justified the sellinge of the goods to us, and our Neighbours of Pullicatte as lovinge and seeminge freinds to us as ever formerly hath bine. . . . .

* The natives were always ready to give high pay to European soldiers, especially those who could claim any acquaintance with artillery.

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And then the following narrative (from the same letter) rings down the curtain :—

Wee had allmost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the Coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondahs Gennerall, who hath almost conquer'd this Kingdome and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob.* This 16,000 rials hee lent us for one twelve month gratis ; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*.† So in requitall of the Annabobs Curtezie, wee gave him one of the two Brass Guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which hee would not bee denied of, whither hee had lent us this money or no ; otherwise hee would not have confirmed our old privilidges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So upon the deliveringe of this Gunn, hee gave it us here under his hand that hee received the Gunn in full and Contentable sattisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month and never hereafter would desire any thing elce for the same ; and withall confirm'd under the King of Gulcondahs great seale ‡ all our former privilidges in ample manner as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King. Soe by this meanes the Gun hath saved you three tymes the vallue of it, by accomplishing too good Acts at once.

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* This unusual expression appears to be the familiar *Nawab* (Deputy or Viceroy) with the Arabic definite article *al* (softened to *an-*) prefixed, thus meaning "*the* Nawab."

† July, 1647.

‡ Not extant.

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APPENDIX A.

Two Early Accounts of the Founding of Fort St. George.

I.

In volume ix. of the *Miscellaneous* section of the *Factory Records* is a "Relation of several Passages since the founding of the town of Madrassapatam," of which it may be interesting to quote the portion dealing with the period under review. According to a note on the paper itself, "this relation was found among the Papers of Mr. Jonathan Trevisae, which was sent him at the Bay [*i.e.*, in Bengal] from the Fort [Madras] by Agent Chambers"; and later on it was copied into the *Fort William Letters Sent*, 1713-14. This volume is now missing, and we are obliged to rely on the copy mentioned above, which was made in 1787.

Chambers, who was Agent at Madras from 1659 to 1662, had known the Coast from about the year 1644, and must have been acquainted with some at least of the original settlers. His account is therefore of considerable value, despite a few slips due to defects of memory. Trevisa arrived in India late in 1658; so the paper must be dated between that time and 1662:—

Anno 1639, when we were at Armagon, Damarla Japa Naindu* writ to Mr. Day, that he would have a Town founded in his Father Channapa Naindu's name; and that, if he would come and live in the said Town, what Cowle he would desire should be given him. After the receipt of which letter, Mr. Day and Mr. Coggin, with three Ships,† arrived hither; which when Japa Naindu heard of, he came to visit them, and told them that, if they would build a Town in his Father's name, that they should have what privileges they desired: to which Mr. Coggin and Mr. Day answered that, if he would

* This is the Ayappa of p. 5. Damarla appears to have been a family name, and it was borne by the father of the present Raja of Kalahasti, who is stated to be a descendant of Day's Naik. Naindu=Naik.

† The contemporary records mention merely the *Eagle*, and a pinnace, the *Unity*. The latter is only mentioned as being in the road at Madraspatam (O.C. 1748) and is not actually stated to have come from Armagon, but probably that was the case.

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procure the King and the Roylaes Cowle, they would build a Fort and dwell in it; which the said Japa Naindu promised he would perform, and carry them before the King and the Roylaes, who should give them the Cowle they desired; upon whose words we remained here.

A month after our arrival there arose a great Storm, so that the three Ships were driven ashore, to our great loss, which we did not so much value, but afterwards were at great charge in building the Fort and Town; which Vencatapate Naindu, Japa Naindu, and Chinnum Shettee * informed the King Serangaroylu of; who afterward sent his People to bring Mr. Greenhill up to him, and, hearing his relation was very joyful; to whom he gave the Cowle concerning this Town, and with great honour dispatched him away. According to which Cowle, given for five years, while Damarla Japa Naindu's people remained here, all things were justly carried; who afterward the Roylaes putting out of his Government, gave it Chinna Shette, who held it a year, governing as his Predecessor had done before him. After whom the Roylaes governed it themselves, till the coming of the Nabob, who was sent from the King of Gulcondah to take all these parts; at whose coming to Punnamelle, Agent Ivie went to him, giving him knowlege of the Cowle given by Serangroyla and Agreement with him; who promised that all things should be carried according to the former Agreement made with the Jentew King. So, dispatching the Agent away with great honour, sent his Servant, Mullapa, with him to look after the Government; who remained here seven years, governing after the manner of the former Governors. . . .

II.

The next account is of very different value, and is only early in the sense that it records the tradition handed down in a native family from the date of the events narrated. It is contained in an appendix to a *Memoir on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency*, written by Bundla Ramasawmy Naidoo in 1820, and published fifty years later as vol. ii. of the *Selections from the Records of the South Arcot District*, a book now rarely to be met with.

In this the author sets out to narrate "how our ancestors were interested in the affairs of the Honorable Company when their Government was in its infancy in this part of India":—

In the early part of [the] seventeenth century, when the Company's Agents were obliged to remove their Factory from Armagal, the Company's Agents at Calcutta (*sic*) requested the assistance of one of our ancestors, named Berry Timmapa, an inhabitant of Palacole, a Dutch factory near Maddipollam, in using his influence with the native princes in this coast in order to establish a Factory.

* The Chenana Chety of p. 31.

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Accordingly, he came out to this part of the Country, and procured them permission from one Damerla Vencatapa Naick to build a Factory at Madras . . . but it being found necessary that the sanction of the ruling prince of the Dynasty of Royaloo should be obtained for it previously, the said Berry Timmapa accordingly procured a *Shasanam* or Grant from Streerunga Royaloo, who then reigned at Chendragerry, for three Villages, namely, Egmore, Tondavadoo and Poodupauk; when Damerla Vencatapa Naick, or his Agents at Poonamallie, insisted upon building the Town in the name of his father, Chennama Naick, as he was in the immediate possession of the place, the Dynasty of Royaloo being at that time in a declining state.

Berry Timmapa assisted in building a Town (which was accordingly called Chennapatnam) in the north side of the factory, and in inviting people from different parts of the Country, by the aid of a *Cowle* from the Company's Agents to settle there, by allotting lands for both right and left hand castes separately. He also caused two Pagodas, one of Vistnoo and the other [of] Sheva, to be built there, calling the former *Chenna Casava Permal* and the latter *Chenna Malleswara.** . . .

The Gentleman who was Agent at that time, Mr. Day, undertook to erect a Factory on the spot where there was a Fisherman's *Coopam*, the head man of which was a Christian named Madarasen, who having thrown some obstacle in allowing the piece of ground he was in possession of, which was his plaintain garden, Berry Timmapa had by his influence obtained that spot, promising him that he would cause the factory which was about to be erected to be called after his name, as Madaresenpatam, or commonly Madraspatam.

The writer goes on to mention other services rendered to the English by Berry Timmapa, and the honours conferred on him and his descendants in consequence. These do not concern our present purpose.

As regards the narrative itself, it is only necessary to point out that it contains several errors, two of which—the grant of the three villages (they were not added to the Madras territory till long after), and the derivation of the name Madraspatam—are so flagrant as to throw discredit on the whole account. Practically the only additional facts we can accept are that Berry Timmapa acted as go-between in Day's negotiation with the Naik, and that he afterwards assisted in some measure to procure inhabitants for the new settlement.

* Cp. *Madras in the Olden Time*, vol. i., p. 264, vol. ii., p. 424.

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APPENDIX B.

On an Unidentified Grant from Sri Ranga III.

When the Madras Government returned to their capital after its redelivery by the French in 1749, they were instructed by the Court of Directors to collect and translate the old Madras *farmans* and grants. The volume which they sent home the following year in obedience to these orders (now in the I.O. Records as *Treaties*, vol. 6) gives particulars of such as had been found, together with some notes, supplied by Paupas Brammey, the former native translator, of certain other grants no longer extant. Of these latter, two are of special interest for our present purpose, and we transcribe them at length:—

Rajah Sasanum, or Royal License, cut upon a Gold Leaf after the shape of a Cadjan,* Granted by Sriranga Royalloo, a Gentue sovereign, to the English Company for the perpetual Enjoyments of a Town called Chinapatam, in consideration of the Payment of the Rent of Pagodas 1200 per Annum into the Royal Treasury, and also empowering them to Coin Pagodas there with the stamp of the three following images, vizt., China Cassawa Sevanumy, and the two Goddesses.†

The condition of the Grant strictly enjoin'd and recommended to take care that all Priviledges of *Deva Doyam* and *Bramma Doyam* may for ever be maintain'd or allow'd in a regular Manner, and that the place may always be Generally esteem'd and Look'd upon as a Gentue town.

N.B.—*Deva Doyam* ‡ signifies the share of Goods or Duties which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Duties and other Gifts which have been or may be appropriated for the Use and maintainance of the Pagodas or Churches. *Brama Doyam* § signifies the share of Bramans, which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Duties, and

---

* A palm leaf.

† *Chinna Keshava Swami*, a favourite South Indian epithet of Krishna (Vishnu). The two goddesses are of course Lakshmi and Rukmini. Pagodas bearing these figures were called *three-swami* pagodas; Sir Walter Elliott says of them that the type "appears to have been derived from the favour in which the Vaishnava tenets were held by the later Vijayanagar princes of Chandragiri, the chiefs of Venkatagiri, and at the sacred shrine of Tripati." For a specimen of a Madras pagoda of this type see Thurston's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, pl. xi., fig. 1. Cp. also Tavernier's *Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 16.

It will be noticed that the privilege of mintage had been included in the grant obtained from the Naik (p. 8).

‡ *Deradayam*, gift to the god.

§ *Bramhadayam*, gift to the Brahmans.

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other Gifts that have been or may be appropriated for the maintainance of the Bramans or other Religious People.

Dimmattu or strengthning Commission, from Damarla Moodu Venkalapa (*sic*) Naiek, Son of Damarla Chenama (*sic*) Naiek, the Grand Visier of the foresaid sovereign and Lord General of Carnatica, to the English Company, for the purpose before mention'd.

To deal with the latter entry first, we may observe that the word *dimmattu* (Tel. *dhimatu*), translated "strengthening," really means "a memorandum, a document given before a lease is finally granted, a private agreement" (Wilson's *Glossary*). With this to guide us, we have little difficulty in identifying the document referred to as the cowl of Damarla Venkatappa under which, as we have seen, the English commenced their settlement at Madras.

The identification of the other document—assuming its genuineness, which is perhaps doubtful—presents a far more difficult problem. It is clearly not the cowl given to Ivy in 1645 (p. 32); and the question then arises whether it should be dated before or after that grant. And here we are in a fix. The use of the term "Chinapatam" seems at first conclusive for an earlier date, for it is scarcely conceivable that, after bestowing his own name on a town, the King would use the former title. On the other hand, the language of the factors on p. 30 implies that up to October, 1645, they had received no confirmation of their privileges from Sri Ranga; and the mention of a definite rent is a still stronger argument for a later date. By the preliminary agreement with the Naik, and again by the 1645 cowl, the revenues were to be divided between the English and the royal treasury; and the commutation of the latter payment into a fixed rent must surely have been a subsequent transaction. On the whole we conclude that either (*a*) the name of the monarch and the mention of a rent are inaccuracies, and the *shasanam* is really that of King Venkatapati, or (*b*) it is of later date than 1645, in which case "Chinapatam" must be a slip on the part of the writer. In any case we must not lay much stress on the details he gives, for it is evident that he compiled his list either from memory or from tradition—more probably the latter.

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In conclusion, we may place on record the fate of eno of the Hindu grants of this time, though which one it was we have no means of determining.

From entries in the Fort St. George and Surat Records at the India Office, it appears that some time in 1687–90 Sir John Child, who had been appointed to supreme control over the Company's factories, ordered the Madras authorities to send to Surat what they variously describe as "the Ancient Phirmaund of this place granted by a Jentue king" and "the Originall Gentue Phirmaund of this place." After repeated demands from Madras for its return, the Surat factors put it on board a ship they were despatching to the east coast; but the vessel was lost on its way with everything on board. This is narrated in a letter from Surat to the Court dated the 31st October, 1693 :—

> We built two Sloops for your Honours' servise in the River for Bengall, one of which most unhappily was lost in her passage to Madrass neer Cochin, in which was lost the Gold Phirmaund for Madrass.

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